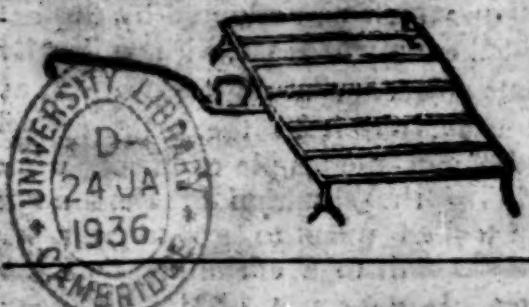


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 4TH, 1834.

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My House, No. 21, Crown-street, Westminster, facing the park, and having a door into the park on the other side, I shall have ready to be let, in about a week. It is a house fit for any gentleman's family; and it is just about six hundred yards from the chair of the Speaker in the House of Commons. There is not a better or prettier house in London. The particular terms will be stated in the next Register. I should be much obliged by any editor of a newspaper, who would insert this notification about the house.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

Bolt-court, 1. January, 1834.

It was my intention to insert in this week's *Register*, the famous Message of the President of the United States; and to remark particularly on the very interesting *financial* part of it; and on that part where he speaks of the villainous manœuvres of the grinders of paper-money. Seeing him, however, in a fair way to blow the whole of the infernal machine to atoms, I shall defer the expressions of my joy on that account, or, at least, the detail of those expressions, in order to make some remarks upon the subject stated at the head of this article.

My writing-life has been so long, and I have always seen so far before me, and have so constantly put upon paper predictions of what would take place, that, as events now come on, I seem to have very little to do but to re-state, and, most commonly, merely to re-print.

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that which I have stated and printed before on the subject. This is precisely the case with regard to the subject before us. That which I wrote and printed in 1829, at and after the blunder-headed battle of NAVARINO, was then, in considerable part, *prophecy*; it is now *history*. My readers will remember my contemptuous observations on, and ludicrous description of, that expedition, quoting the old country sarcasm :

" Father and mother and I,
" With a stout and trusty band,
" Beat a poor little boy,
" Till he couldn't go nor stand."

The villainous newspapers might well help ; or the noise of infernal birth : these prodigious monsters, nearly one and all, town and country, cried up the "*victory of Navarino*," as something "which would not suffer in "a comparison with the most brilliant "naval achievements of England"! And, oh ! their praises of the gallantry and skill of the *French* and their admiral ! Their intolerable baseness in this respect, their praises of the French and their crowing over the poor Turk, the faithful friend of England for two hundred years, against these very French ! It was enough to drive one to distraction as one read, reflecting that such words had dropped from the pens of Englishmen ; and it required all the patience, all the forbearance, all the long-suffering, all the equanimity, all the cool and placid resignation, belonging to my character, to preserve to me any portion of my senses !

By-and-by, it came out, that this "*brilliant*" and "*glorious achievement*," was an "*untoward event*." I did not, however, stop for this discovery : I said, at once, that it would lead, and that it must lead, either to a war with Russia ; a resolute and desperate war ; or to a base and cowardly abandonment, not only of the rights acquired, but of the character acquired for England, by our

wise and brave forefathers. To-day, I read in the *Times* newspaper, that England, in 1828 and 1829, did "commit the baseness of leaving the Turkish empire to the tender mercies of Nicholas, the Duke of Wellington" being fairly over-reached, as in 1831, "she and France together, from similar mystification practised on the Whigs, barbarously deserted Poland. They now reap the fruits of the double crime. However, the design of Russia is palpable; and fixed, we have reason to believe, is her resolve to execute it, judging by her known preparations."

I believe it was to the tender mercies of the "magnanimous" gentleman who was so much praised for having ordered, or approved of, the burning of about a thousand women in child-birth, in his own city of Moscow, and to touch the hem of whose merciful garment the "ladies" of England galloped so many miles; I believe that it was he, and not NICHOLAS; but it is of very little consequence which of them it was: this very *Times* newspaper joined the rest in applauding the battle of NAVARINO, and in being delighted with the consequences of that battle. There will be a time to talk of Poland hereafter, perhaps; but what is *Poland*, compared with *Turkey*? The monsters, who, chiefly through the instrumentality of the blaspheming Jews, have barbarously murdered, or doomed to the cruelest of slavery, the unhappy Poles, are objects of my execration; but, their deeds there do not endanger the power of England but in a very indirect manner. In *Turkey* the autocrat comes at us at once; and we must strike, or acknowledge that we dare not: and then we come to the disgraceful point, at which I have a hundred and a thousand times said we should arrive at last. In the year 1822, when I proposed, at a county-meeting at MAIDSTONE, to add to the petition a prayer, that there might be a "just" reduction of the interest of the debt; and, when that petition, so added to, obtained for me, in the House of Commons, from persons who, being now in the House, I will not here name; when it obtained for me from that body

every epithet and term descriptive of villainy, two of those who so designated me having since cut their throats, or killed themselves in some way or another; when my reasonable and just proposition, which was adopted by the assembled county of Kent, with a minority of four voices, or at most seven; I, at that time, put it to the plain understandings of the people of Kent, what would be the situation of England if again called upon to go to war, or quietly submit to a curtailment of her power. I made use of these words: "The figure of eight and the eight noughts say to the King of England, "You never shall go to war again while we are in existence." Then I put to them: "Would you be content to see the French come and demand possession of DOVER castle; then come up the MEDWAY and take possession of UPNOR castle, to say nothing of the dock-yards and the arsenals? No: so far from being content with this, your blood boils at having the questions put to you. Ask yourselves, then, how such aggressions are to be prevented, except by being prepared for war? And then, again, ask yourselves how the nation is to move one step in the way of preparing for war, with this mill-stone of debt about its neck?"

Much about the time I am now speaking of, or soon afterwards, the man who is now the Lord High Chancellor said, in the House of Commons, that he thanked God, that the nation was BOUND TO KEEP THE PEACE "in a bond of eight hundred millions!" There was quite enough besides this to make me shudder at the idea of that man's possessing any political power in my country; but, if he had never uttered anything else to have displeased me, that one sentence would have been sufficient. It argued (and it argued conclusively) that he was either wholly destitute of judgment, destitute of knowledge, or destitute of love of country, and of all feeling for its honour and its safety. Beyond all doubt it was one of the two former; but, no matter which of the three, each equally dis-

qualifying him for the possession of political power.

What ! rejoice, a man rejoice, that *his country is unable to go to war*: and that man a *statesman*, too ; and that man now a servant of the King of England, and the keeper of his conscience with regard to high matters of state and government ! It is very true that the nation is bound to keep the peace, in a bond of eight hundred millions ; but is this a thing to rejoice at, except by the bitterest enemies of England ? It is very true that the bond exists ; but is it so binding that the nation must lose its power, and be sunk in everlasting disgrace, rather than break the bond ? No individual can bind himself to suffer death, whether from sword or from want. The loss of power to defend itself is death to a nation ; therefore, to that point a nation cannot be bound. Upon the occasion of the petition from Kent, the same man said, that there could be "no such thing as a *just reduction* of the interest of the debt." Put the two assertions together, and state them thus : "That it is subject of joy "that the nation is bound in a bond of "eight hundred millions not to go to "war ; and that, the amount of this "bond cannot be diminished." Put these two together : and then you have the assertion of the man who is now Lord Chancellor, that the nation can never go to war again, and that he is glad of it ; and then you have, I think, a pretty sufficient reason for the Americans grasping the FLORIDAS, and invading, and squatting down in the *Texes* ; for the French invading Spain and dissipating of her government at its pleasure ; and for the conquest of TURKEY by RUSSIA.

The *Times* newspaper of to-day says : "If an enemy *believe* that we are afraid to strike, he will do so for us." Believe ! He must be hard of belief, indeed, if he reject belief on the fact that we are bound to keep the peace in a bond of eight hundred millions, and when he is told so by the man who is now Lord Chancellor ; and that, as Sir ROBERT PEEL, in his memorable *rating* of me, rather more than hinted that a

man must be a rogue who could propose, or assent to, a diminution of the amount of this bond. After these things, is it not farcical in the *Times* newspaper to talk in this way, and to put an "*if*" respecting an enemy's belief of our being afraid to go to war ? Why, we are afraid to go to war ; with all our thundering navy and thundering army, we are afraid to pronounce the word WAR. We know that we cannot go to war without breaking the bond in one way or another ; we cannot break the bond without subjecting ourselves to be called "*rogues* ;" and we are justly *afraid* of being called "*rogues*." So, here we are, literally bound not to strike, though we have a fleet and army, which, God knows, ought to be ready, and though we have already received blow after blow, and we are now receiving a blow greater than all the rest. It is just thirty years since I went to a play. The last time I went I saw WALDRON in the character of GEORGE DOWNRIGHT, giving FAWCETT a "*hiding*" (with an ash-stick) in the character of BOBADIL, who had a long swaggering sword by his side. "Draw ! draw ! draw your spit," exclaimed the former. "Tall gentleman ! Tall gentleman ! I protest....." "Oh ! damn your protesting ! Draw your sword !" which the other took good care not to do ; but being well provided with sheepskins under his dress, quietly took a walloping that made the whole theatre resound ; and, afterwards, when questioned as to the *cause*, lifted up his hands and turned up the whites of his eyes, exclaiming : "It was the stars ; certainly, the stars." "Certainly not, captain," answered young WELLBORN, "it was the stick : it certainly was the stick, captain, and not the stars."

Aye, and it is not the stars now that withhold our hands ; neither will it be sufficient for us to plead the bond ; the world is too penetrating and too just not to ascribe our want of resentment to the true cause ; or, rather, our want of the act of showing our resentment ; for, all our efforts to disguise from the world that we feel resentment will fail of success. The true cause is, a change in the character of the governing

powers of England, whose great principle was, for ages and ages, the maintenance of the greatness and the honour of the country, cost what it might ; to think nothing worth a straw that was not calculated to endure for ages ; to despise wealth and ease and show, when put in competition with the bold assertion of the rights of the country abroad, and of its genuine, solid, untinselled liberties at home. This great principle has departed from those who rule us : a huckstering, counting-house, usurious, discounting, bill-brokering principle has succeeded ; and here we are, ready to faint at the idea of a "shock to PUBLIC CREDIT," while we affect not to perceive that the whole fabric of this kingly Government is rocking backwards and forwards and ready to come tumbling on the heads of those who ought to be its upholders.

"If an enemy believe that we are afraid"! Believe it! Why, every nation knows it. Does this editor of the *Times* newspaper imagine, that my *Register* is not read in Russia, because it is not read by certain stupid men in England, who do not read, not because they think it contains falsehoods, but because they are told that it contains truth? It is absolutely impossible for any man regularly to read this *Register* without being *certain* that this kingdom cannot go to war without breaking the "*bond*"; and, the ears of the whole world have been dinned with the ten-thousand-times-repeated declarations of the Ministers and the Parliament, that they will not break that bond; Ministers, Parliaments, and three successive Kings, have declared that they would preserve what they call "NATIONAL FAITH;" which is as much as to declare, that the nation shall never draw the sword again, though an enemy capture the Isle of Wight, or come and demand possession of the Tower of London.

In the meanwhile, what a figure do we exhibit in the eyes of the world! Here we are with a greater naval force ; a naval force costing more money than the navy of England cost, when England was at war with France, Spain, and Holland, all at the same time, hav-

ing the American rebels to fight into the bargain. Here we are with an army of a hundred thousand men, helmeted, their breasts covered with brass plates, their horses as big as elephants, each carrying half a ton of fat : we have foot and horse grenadiers, light infantry, dragoons, lancers, horse guards, and all the "finest troops in the world :" improvement upon improvement in the dress, in the arms, in the discipline and manoeuvres ; the drum and trumpet's everlasting sound half stuns us, unless we get away to the mountains of Scotland or of Wales. And what is all this FOR? What is it FOR? I have asked that question a thousand times, and never yet got a satisfactory answer. Here we are with 170 admirals, 1,684 captains of the navy, 110 of which admirals have been made since the peace, and 413 captains have been made since the peace. Here we are with about 200 generals, and 16,000 military officers of different descriptions. And here we are, with all these upon our hands, and not daring to pronounce the word WAR. What, then, is this navy and this army for? Why do they cost us *fourteen millions, eight hundred and sixty-nine thousand six hundred and eleven pounds a year*? All appears to be naval and military, except that there is no *fight*: a commander in chief with a *levee like that of a king*; and a *staff*, like that of a sovereign prince at the head of his army: eternal paradings and musterings and reviewings and mountings of guards; marchings and countermarchings, and shifting of quarters, a "*MAJOR STURGEON*" at every corner of the street: footmen and grooms and porters and lackeys, with bits of round leather glued up to the sides of their hats, indicating the profession of their gallant masters; but not even a footman to pronounce the word *WAR*: military and naval academies: young gentlemen in troops to be the nation's defenders; epaulets at right angles, and cocked-hats as fierce as the arrows of Death themselves: club-houses, and panes of glass costing five pounds a-piece, and with waiters in silk stockings. TRA
FALGAR SQUARES, WELLINGTON PLACES,

WATERLOO PLACES and **WATERLOO BRIDGES**; **ACHILLES**, the conquering **ACHILLES**, stuck up, stark naked, by the "ladies" of England, swinging back his shield, and holding his menacing fist up towards the bullet-proof windows. Temples and palaces decorated with standards won in the field and on the seas; galleries erected to exhibit them in; and a people creeping about, viewing the sights, listening to the rattling of the drum and the clamour of the trumpet, hearing that the Russians have taken possession of Turkey, and not daring to utter, even to one another,

UNION SOCIETY

This is our sea state; this is the fear that we are making in the eyes of the world; and this is the light in which we are viewed from one end to the other of that world. What, then, is to be the end of this? For he is mightily deceived who supposes that our humiliations are to end with the execution of the projects of Russia with regard to Turkey. When I have finished this article, I shall insert a letter which I addressed to the "*Cobbettites*" some time after the battle of NAVARINO, from which the reader will see, that the present events are only mere fulfilment of what I then saw and predicted. That letter should be read with care from the beginning to the end; because the ultimate consequences are there very clearly pointed out and sufficiently dwelt upon. Those consequences, shortly described, being, a close union between Russia and the United States of America, and finally joined by France; and, of course, the complete humiliation and bowing down of England.

Referring the reader to that letter, for a more full statement of my opinion as to those matters, the question that will now be put to me is this: "Would you, "then, if you were prime minister, go "to war?" Yes, at once, or quit my place. At once, and my fleet should negotiate the Russians out of CONSTANTINOPLE and all the Turkish territories: the autocrat should hear England speak from the mouth of the cannon, and from no other mouth.

"Why, the funds would be down to

forty!" will exclaim some crucifying usurer. They might be down to *one*, if they would, but I would go to war. But how would I get the means? There are the thundering navy and army, ready made to my hand; and as for *money*, I should take that which now goes into the pockets of the usurers, and other tax-eating idlers. I might take, to be sure, the two hundred and thirteen pounds a year that go into the pocket of the REV. THOMAS PENROSE, who has had it for twenty-one years, for having been five months *Charge d'Affaires* at FLORENCE, having had four lives in England all the while. I might take him or else the deuce is in it, and let him live upon tithes: aye, and I would find out some civil list or dead weight that should supply four of five other millions for fighting the Russians. "Come, come," I should say, "I am driven to straits, and can keep no cats that don't catch mice." Away would go the picture-galleries, and gate-ways, and the panes of glass costing five pounds a piece, and the waiters in silk stockings, and the horse-guards sweating under brass breast-plates; away would go the carriages in HYDE PARK, the sweet-scented and ogling pensioners, and the footmen in white stockings, and with ropes hanging down from their shoulders; and away would go the mowers, with a good swarth of grass, up *Regent-street*, and round about the base of the monument of the lover of the darling Mother CLARKE; and then the nation would begin to be in fighting order; and the *Mynheer* and the *Parlez-vous* and the damnable sly Yankee would all begin to get blows instead of long bits of writing, full of cant, of lies, and of *feelosophy*. In one word, I would undertake to beat the Russian bear and repeal the malt tax at the same time; and if I did not do both, I would agree to be the next annual victim for the Jews to crucify at Easter.

Very well, now; this is what you would do; but, *what do you think the Ministers will do?* Ah! That's a hard question: I can tell what it is likely

that any body else would do; I can tell generally, pretty nearly, what a cause, or a set of causes, will produce, when the actors are any other men than the Ministers of England; but, when it comes to them, I can never venture beyond a *guess*. If there be three things which they can do in a certain case, and I could ascertain which was the most absurd of the three, I should have a strong leaning towards that; but, it would be so entirely uncertain after all, that if my life depended upon it; if I were put to death if I did not choose one, and if I did not hit upon the right, I should put the three into a bag, give them a shake, say my prayers, and pull one out.

There is this much, however, of certain, in this case: one of two things they must do: they must keep peace or go to war. If they choose the former, we shall be told that Turkey is *very little to us*; that it is a great way off; that the trade is something, to be sure, but that going to war for trade is purchasing trade very dearly; that besides, we can have "*free trade*" with Turkey still; that there is nothing like the "*reciprocity system*"; that we are now under the "*march of intellect*," and that the barbarous notions of shedding human blood for the sake of trade, or for the maintenance of power, ought to be banished from the mind; and that **Messrs. POULETT THOMSON and SPRING RICE** have "*tables*" to prove, that we should *gain* instead of *lose* by the exchange of masters in Turkey; *tables* ruled with red ink upon paper with gilt edges and as stiff as a board, to be moved for by the "*noble Lord*," and laid before the [House as incontestable evidence of the wisdom of refraining from going to war for Turkey. Lastly, will come a statement of the dangers which war would inevitably produce to "**PUBLIC CREDIT**." Slap we are all knocked down into silence at once: silent submission to the wise decision is painted on every face; and away we start home, our mouths as full as ever of phrases about this "*great empire*"; and, if we have a moment's leisure to chat, it may be about the "*imperial*"

bushel, and the "*imperial*" foot in length, ascertained by the beating of a pendulum in a heat of sixty degrees by FAHRENHEIT's thermometer; or, perchance, about the number of square inches to which it is necessary to limit, *by law*, the size of a sheet of paper, in order to prevent it from containing "*blasphemy*" and "*sedition*."

This will be the course, or something like the course, that the Ministers will pursue, if they determine on turning their shoulders up and taking the *ash-stick*. But, *what will they do, if they go to war?* Why, they will make the devil of a splutter to begin with. They will protest more solemnly than ever in support of "*national faith*"; and they will do this at the very moment that they are adopting some measure to send out an *inconvertible paper-money*. Mr. BARINO said, that they must do this before the second campaign, if ever they went to war again. I say that they must do it before the first campaign; or they must do as I would, deduct from the interest of the debt, money enough to carry on the war. This being the wise and just thing, it is about a thousand to one that they will not do it; and that, if they go to war, they will give us a real, thorough-paced paper-money, a tenth part of the consequences of which, no man can even guess at; but this much I can say, that, if it be really true that the Russians have actually taken possession of CONSTANTINOPLE and of the Turkish dominions, this country must go to war, or be sunk at once, visibly sunk, in the scale of nations; and will then have verified that which I have so frequently foretold; namely, that the victories of the last war were purchased; that we had not paid the purchase money; that other nations *would take them back*, one by one, and leave us still to pay the debt which we had contracted for the purpose of getting the victories.

To this state we are come, and only just come to it: we shall go on from bad to worse, unless we resolve at once to get rid of the cause; that is to say, the **DEBT**, which was contracted for the purpose of preventing those

changes at home, which changes will be effected by the debt itself, but in a manner much worse for those who urged on the nation into the war.

WM. COBBETT.

SPRING WHEAT.

I WANT eight bushels of this wheat, and I can hear of none in England. It is not what is called "*Talavera wheat*," a name which the bloated bull-frog farmers gave it, when they were selling wheat at 20s. a bushel, damning the "*JACOBERS and LAVELLERS*;" no, not the "*Talavera*," which came from *Barbary* to Hampshire, and of which I sowed the *second* field that was sowed in England; *not that*, but, the small and brownish grained *bearded* wheat, which is *sowed in the spring*, and which the French call "*BLÉ DE MARS*," or **MARCH WHEAT**.

If any gentleman knows of any of this wheat, in England, I shall be much obliged to him to inform me of it, and of how I can get the above quantity, which I very much want.

I am afraid that it is not to be found here, though I always sowed some of it in Hampshire. But, if this should reach the eye of some friend in *France*, he will confer a great obligation on me by writing to me at Bolt-court, London, to tell me how I can get it from one of the French ports. Some friend in London, or Brighton, or Southampton, who *trades with France*, may be able to undertake to get this wheat for me, I obtaining (a thing which I will not doubt of) permission to land it. I shall be *very much obliged to any one* who will give me aid in this matter.

WM. COBBETT.

NATIONAL FAITH.

At the request of several gentlemen, and one in particular, I am republishing, in the form of a pamphlet, price TWO SHILLINGS, good paper and print, my letters to the Honourable JOHN STUART WORTLEY, of the cracked-skull county of York, in answer to his pamphlet, in

which he asserts, that we do not even now pay the fundholders quite enough. If we continue to pay them what we now pay them only a little while longer, it will be too late for us to dispute about the matter. The following is what I have prefixed to this publication.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

London, 1 January, 1834.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—So early as the year 1803 I urged upon you the necessity of reducing the interest of the then existing debt; in the year 1806, I proved most elaborately the justice of such reduction, and warned you against the consequences of deferring the adoption of such measures, until it should be too late. From that time to this, I have been endeavouring to prevail upon you to prevent that convulsive revolution which I always said must be the end, unless you condescended to listen to my advice upon this subject; you have listened to that advice, but have treated it with scorn, and not a few of you have answered it by personal calumnies heaped upon the author. Will you, now that you see the whole fabric of this ancient government absolutely shaking to pieces; when you see this all-devouring monster with the church half down its throat, having made the discovery at the end of a thousand years that tithes are an insupportable evil; will you, when you see the working millions all in a state of commotion, their habits of patient industry, and of cheerful and willing obedience rooted out of their minds by their unbearable wants; will you, when you see the once-happy homesteads of England blazing from the hostile hands of those whose labour had filled them at the harvest; will you, when nature itself seems to inspire every working man with a resolution no longer to bear the thought of his child in the cradle being doomed to be a slave, and to eke out his life upon potatoes and salt, that swarms of monopolists and usurers may wallow in luxury; will you, while you vote for the maintaining of a navy five times as expensive, and an army ten times as expensive, as the

navy and army were during the last peace, and at the same time behold a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, and Russia master of Turkey, and behold that "old England," which was once justly compared to a ready-loaded cannon, not daring, even to pronounce the word WAR, except in a whisper; will you NOW still turn a deaf ear to this advice, and still call the adviser an "advocate for robbery"?

You may; and I dare say you will. But that shall not deter me from offering to your perusal facts and arguments to prove the justice of reducing the interest of the debt; and, having done this, while I shall most earnestly wish that you may now be pleased to listen to me, I shall, at any rate, know that I have done my duty; and that, be the consequences what they may, no part of those consequences will lie upon the head of

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

FRIEND PLEASE!

TO MR. O'CONNELL.

Bolt-court, 1. Jan., 1834.

DEAR SIR,—If you read this, you will find below it a reprint of your letter relative to "friend" PLEASE; but, though I approve of every thing contained in that letter, as far as the letter itself goes, and without adverting to any of the transactions that it speaks of, I cannot let it pass through my hands, without reminding you, that I gave you due warning about the "friend," quite time enough to have put you upon your guard. When you came into the House and sat down by me, and exclaimed in a sort of exulting liberality, you having been one of the committee that reported in favour of admitting the "friend": "Well! we have seated the Quaker!" "Have you, by —," said I, "I would have sooner seated the devil;" and, when you gave me a gentle reproof for illiberality, I said, "Mind, I tell you,

you will repent of it." Now, you will recollect this; and you will now know that I was right. You say you would do the same again, if it were to do over again. I do hope that you would not. But, for our misfortune, the thing has not to be done over again. It was a perfect *miracle* to discover, at the end of two hundred years, that there was law for that for which there had never been law before; and of all the deeds of the last session, I lamented no one more than this. There appears to me to be a radical objection against admitting into Parliament, any person belonging to a sect, the members of which are, under all circumstances, bound by their sect, to oppose themselves to the making of war, even in self-defence. What! here is a man who is bound by the principles of the sect to which he belongs to oppose any measure, the object of which is, to cause fighting to take place. This alone would have been a sufficient objection with me; and, therefore, so far was I from joining in the cheers when the liberal announcement was made, that I muttered something between my teeth that it is not necessary that I should now put upon paper.

Give me leave to say, too, that your good nature misled you when you consented to smother the letter during the session; it ought at once to have been brought forward in some way or another, which, besides other good effects, would have prevented the speech ascribed to Mr. HILL, at HULL. Your religion, and mine, too, bid us to forgive; but it bids us, at the same time, to insist upon *atonement* previous to forgiveness. My religion would have bidden me insist upon his begging pardon openly; and yours would have bidden the priest to make him do penance by counting a bushel of clover-seed, or something of that sort, which would have been a very good application of his time. The slander is, I am convinced, as atrocious as any that ever was uttered in the world. The most zealous opponents of the red-coat bill were, yourself, your sons, the Messrs. GRATTAN, Mr. LALOR, Mr. SHEIL, Mr.

O'CONNOR, Mr. FINN, Dr. BALDWIN, Mr. RUTHVEN : these are the gentlemen whom I recollect at present ; and, one would be sick of the world, or, at least, I should, if I could believe, that any one of you were insincere in your opposition. It is a most monstrous slander ; and I do trust, that you will not let it rest without bringing it before the House. The "friend" may accuse you of having forgiven him and spoke well of him; amongst all my sins, I thank God that that cannot be laid to my charge.

I hear of another of the friends who is coming forward, generously to bestow his time in representing the people. We shall have enough of them, I'll warrant you : they have full a half of the paper-money ; and no small part of the wheat and the flour in their hands. However, I trust that events are at hand that will defeat all their scheming. I am glad to find that you are in such good health, and hope to see you here on the first day of the session. I intended to go to Ireland in the month of October, but I could not ; and I must beg my friends there, if I have any, to take the will for the deed.

I am

Your faithful
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO CHARLES LARKIN, ESQ.,
NEWCASTLE.

(From the Newcastle Press, 28. Dec., 1833.)

Merrion-square, Dublin,
20. Dec. 1833.

SIR,—Somebody was kind enough to send me the *Newcastle Press* of the 14. inst., containing a letter from you to me, which sets out and comments upon one from Mr. Pease, member for South Durham, to Surgeon Kilburn. Your comments are very just and opposite, that is, taking for granted the statement made by Mr. Pease to be true, but they touch us not, because, since the world began, there never were so many falsehoods stuffed into so few lines as are contained in his letter. Indeed, he who could deliberately frame

such falsehoods, necessarily must be the most degraded of liars that the world ever produced.

Before I reply to your letter, let me tell you some facts of which you must be ignorant, relative to this curious epistle of friend Pease. I must, however, begin a little higher.

When Pease claimed his seat without being called upon to take the oath, he was naturally anxious to conciliate as many members of the committee, to whom his case was referred, as possible. I was a member of that committee ; and the liberal and almost radical Mr. Pease was introduced to me by Mr. Rippon. I told him at once that I had considered the case, and it gave me pleasure to add that my opinion was decidedly in his favour. He expressed more gratitude than any one could deserve for merely doing his duty. Such is the first fact in my acquaintance with Mr. Pease.

The second fact is of another description. It consists in the transmission to me of either the original letter to Surgeon Kilburn, or an accurate copy of it by some person at Newcastle, under a cover, containing some observations, but, as I recollect, no name. Judge of my surprise and indignation, when I found that a man, who declared himself grateful to me for my attention to his case ; who was in the habit of friendly communication with me in the House ; who often sat near me, and chatted with me, and was full of smiles and civility, and even of praise, had written such a tissue of falsehoods, adopting and enlarging the calumnies which, the various plunderers of your country and of mine, have invented against me, simply because I have uniformly refused to join either of their gangs, whether called Whigs or Tories, and have persisted in insisting that the people are entitled to a *radical* and not a *mock* reform of all existing abuses.

The third fact is this : I immediately showed the letter, in the state in which I received it, to Pease, and asked him if he had written such a letter. I never saw a man more confused in my life ; the large drops of perspiration ran down his forehead ; but at length he replied,

that "he could not say but that he had written such a letter; that it was not intended for publication, but was substantially correct."

The fourth fact is—that I told Pease I would bring the matter before the public, and have his atrocious charges contradicted. I accordingly brought the letter to the House the next day, or a few days after, but as I was waiting in the Vote Office on some business, I was accosted by Mr. Hutt, the colleague of Mr. Hill, the Member for Hull, who asked me to show him "the letter," as I recollect Mr. Rippon was in his company; I immediately gave Mr. Hutt the letter to read. When he had read it, he honestly and fairly expressed his indignation at its contents; but concluded by begging to know whether he could ask me for a favour. I told him at once that I knew Pease through the introduction of Mr. Rippon, who was himself as honest a voter as ever sat in the House; that he Mr. Hutt had also opposed the Coercion Bill in every stage; he had refused to join in the ministerial shout of domination over my unfortunate country; had shown sympathy for Ireland, and therefore, he had not merely a right to request a favour, but that such request should be a command. He then, after expressing in strong terms the unpleasant situation in which Pease would be placed, if the business were brought before the House, asked me at least to postpone that measure. I instantly tore the letter itself, and told Mr. Hutt that I would never bring it before the House, being happy to sacrifice my own feelings of just resentment, in order to show my gratitude to an honest Englishman, who voted in favour of wretched Ireland.

I may be ridiculed for the softness of my good nature, yet I never will regret having shown that mark of gratitude to Mr. Hutt. But your publication of the letter, the emphatic manner in which you properly condemn the treasons asserted in that letter, makes it impossible for me to continue silent, especially as there is nothing inconsistent with my promise to Mr. Hutt in my meeting the accusation thus re-

newed, without any participation of mine in such renewal.

I am also thus enabled to state that the copy of the letter which you have published is substantially correct, because it is in substance the same with the letter whose contents Mr. Pease avowed to me to be substantially accurate; we have, therefore, before the public, the genuine contents of a letter written by Pease: so far, at least, the case is made out against him.

Now, sir, for the matter of your letter and of that of Pease. I for the present take no notice of your observations on the atrocious calumny promulgated against the Irish anti-despotism members, by commissioner Hill, of Hull. All those who could be alluded to by him, with the exception of four, have already denied the charge. The four remaining are, Fitzstephen Ffrench, member for Roscommon county; James Grattan, member for Wicklow county; J. M. Galway, member for Waterford county; and J. N. Vigors, member for Carlow town. These gentlemen certainly can, and I hope will, publicly contradict Mr. Hill, and then we shall have him exposed to all the obloquy he so richly merits. There want but four contradictions more.

We now come to Pease's letter. As it has been given to the public, it becomes my duty to impeach him before his constituents of the grossest fabrications and falsehoods that ever yet disgraced a public man. It may be said, that this language is too harsh to be used before the public. The fastidious critics who may say so, ought to look to their friend Pease's letter, and see whether it does not contain terms which infinitely exceed mine in virulence and strength of expression. In fact, it would be impossible to reply in other language to the foul and mean, and malignant accusations which he has, assassin-like, when he thought himself cloaked, used towards the Irish members, and particularly towards me, with whom he was at the very time on terms of intimacy—at least of something more than casual civility. He said he owed me an obligation: I certainly owed him none.

I make now deliberately the charge against him of having foully and falsely calumniated me and other public men, who are at all events his equals. I make this charge against him before and to his constituents, respectfully submitting to them, that they will not be free in the eyes of the public, from being stained with some of the guilt of his calumnies, unless they publicly repudiate both him and them.

Before I go any farther, let me propose a tribunal to decide between us. I am content to have the subject matter of Mr. Pease's letter submitted, as arbitrators, to any two independent English members of Parliament. Now writing from recollection, I offer Mr. Pease his choice of any two of the following gentlemen : Mr. Hume, Mr. Warburton, Mr. Wilks, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Lytton Bulwer, Mr. Parrott, member for Totness, Mr. Rippon, Mr. Hutt, either of those highly independent men, Mr. Kemmis Tyntis, Major Fancourt, Major Beauclerc, Mr. Gillon ; or, in short, any two honest members of the House, excluding, of course, regular Whigs and regular Tories, in neither of whom have I any confidence.

Let Mr. Pease choose his own tribunal out of such men as I have thus alluded to. Let us get them to sit in the first week of the ensuing session. Mr. Pease having admitted the writing of the letter, I arraign him of the following falsehoods. It is the business of his constituents to make him answer my charges.

FIRST : Of gross and wilful falsehood, in asserting that "he had written to every part of Ireland to ascertain the wishes of the thinking part of the public on the subject of the Coercion Bill; and that all his answers expressed anxiety for the bill in its original shape."

It is possible that he may have written to some Quakers in Ireland, and obtained from some of them replies favourable to the bill; *that is possible*, because although there are in this country some highly worthy and respectable Quakers, yet it unfortunately happens that the far greater portion of the Irish Quakers

are the most bigoted and depraved politicians; the most friendly to tyranny and oppression, peculation and monopoly, of any set of men in the known world. He may have had some letters from Quakers of that class; but if he wanted to learn the truth, he should not have written to such men at all, and besides, which is really decisive; their letters cannot possibly answer the description of letters from all parts of Ireland.

SECONDLY : Of gross and wilful falsehood, in asserting "That almost all the respectable members from Ireland were in favour of the bill."

Here we shall discover what Mr. Pease means by a *respectable* man. It is quite true, and he is entitled to the benefit of the fact, that there was a majority of the Irish members favourable to the Coercion Bill, because there were, *first*, the inveterate Orange Tories, who would vote for the most excruciating tyranny over their countrymen; and, *secondly*, the Irish Whigs, a worse, because a more mean and inconsistent class. These combined, the one from an innate hatred of liberty, and even of their native country, the other from natural Whig depravity, heightened by interested motives of a very base kind, gave Pease and the Ministers a majority. My second charge, therefore, turns upon the meaning of the word *respectable*, when used by a Quaker. I understand that it *should* mean honest, independent, disinterested, and intrepid assertors of the *practical* exhibition of the pure principles of civil and religious liberty.

THIRDLY : Of gross and wilful falsehood, in asserting that many of the Irish members told him "*English members ought to vote for this bill; we dare not, as our families would be murdered, our houses pulled down at the instigation of the agitators.*"

Now, honest men of South Durham, will you tolerate as your representative, a man who could sit down coolly, and deliberately invent so gross, so foul, so malignant a falsehood; a falsehood so atrocious as to be incapable of being described even in the most vituperative language. It is an atrocious calumny

of malignant falsehood, three times dyed in malignity. *First*, against the Irish anti-despotism members, not one of whom ever did or ever could dream of saying such a thing. *Second*, against the persons called agitators, who in the place of instigating to Whitefeet outrages and murders, have ever been the most active, zealous, and sincere, in disowning and reprobating every outrage and crime of that description, and indeed, of every description whatsoever. And *thirdly*, even against the wretched people of Ireland, who have been engaged in agrarian crimes, because there is not one single instance of such crimes being committed for any political offence, real or imaginary. The worst politicians have been and are as safe in the agrarian disturbances, as the very best, and accordingly not one of the men who voted for the Coercion Bill has been injured or offended on that account, or at all, although some of them were guilty of very base treachery to their constituents, in voting for the Ministry against Ireland.

FOURTHLY: Of gross and wilful falsehood in asserting, that "the most hostile to the bill in the House laughed and joked out of the House; how much money they had got, how much law business by becoming agitators! and only deplored the bill ruining the most shameless of trades."

This most shameless of deliberate lies is aimed principally at me. I only say that it is untrue in all and every one of its parts. It is untrue that any such thing was ever said to Pease, and it would be of the last and foulest untruth in its assertions had any body said so to him.

FIFTHLY: Of gross and wretched ignorance and invention in asserting, "that the Irish are an ignorant and passionate people, and that a fiery orator, free himself from harm, brings them into severe punishment by irritating them about their real grievances."

I am of course the fiery orator alluded to; the allusion is most unhappy, not only as untrue in point of fact, but unfounded in point of law. The "fiery orator" would not in the supposed case

be *free from harm*. He could be indicted for exciting or provoking to crime, or for sedition, in the use of language tending to bring the Government into contempt. The Irish Government has hitherto been able to name its own juries, save when it prosecutes Orangemen. Why then has the "fiery orator" been hitherto safe? simply because he never was guilty of what friend Pease attributes to him, and for no other reason whatsoever.

I have thus met your letter to me; I have converted all its principal allegations into charges of falsehood and calumny against friend Pease. I have suggested a tribunal before which he could easily prove his purity and truth if his assertions were true. Should he decline that tribunal let him suggest any other, before which he could more easily bring proofs of the foul allegations in matters against the Irish members in general, and against me in particular, and if he be not exceedingly unreasonable I will consent to such tribunal; but unless he comes forward to prove his charges, as I distinctly assert that he cannot prove them, let him either make his "*amende honorable*" to men, whom he has unjustly calumniated, or shrink back to the obscurity of private life for the rest of his days.

I now dismiss Mr. Pease. He assailed me who was ready to befriend him when he wanted supporters; actively to assist him, not merely to give a vote according to my opinion. The Irish anti-despotism members were ready to take the same course, many of them were Catholics. They all would have voted for the admission of a sectarian the most adverse in religious opinions to theirs. Had there been a division on his claim, and especially had the Ministry voted against him, those he supported and praised would have voted against his claim. Those whom he calumniates would have voted for it, and would do so again to-morrow, because we act upon principle.

You justly say that if Pease's charges be true, the Union should be repealed to preserve England from Irish depravity. I admit it at once—but they are false,

grossly false. Alas, for poor Ireland ! what shall protect her from English depravity ?

Aye, or Scotch either ? I speak not of Scotch vile writers, although amongst them can be found the vilest of the vile. But I come to Scotch members. There, for example, is Mr. Oliphant, member for Perth ; he is reported to have told his constituents that he would sooner die than consent to a Coercion Bill for Scotland ; but that there was so much, and such persuasive *evidence* of the necessity for the measure in Ireland laid before Parliament, that it carried his vote. Alas, alas ! again for wretched Ireland ! Why, the entire evidence consisted of a red box placed on the table, from which letters were taken, or rather alleged copies of alleged letters were drawn out, and extracts read without mentioning the place where written, and above all, without giving the name of the alleged writer ? ! ! And this Mr. Oliphant is simple enough to call evidence. Oh, what shall save Ireland from Scotch *simplicity*.

Again, at Aberdeen, Mr. Bannerman harangues his constituents—tells them that he voted for the Coercion Bill. Why ? because it was petitioned against as a brutal, bloody, and atrocious bill ; and mark—"that he had seen letters "from some of those very petitioners "stating, that though they had been "induced to petition against the measure, yet they prayed it might pass "into a law as the only means of putting "a stop to murder and the worst of "crimes."

I will take for granted that Mr. Bannerman was *shown* letters, which he *was told* were from such petitioners, as he asserts he saw them. But what a contemptuous opinion of his intellect must the person have had, who told him so. Why, here is a worthy stout-built Scotch gentleman, full six feet high, believing a tale which a nursery babe would repudiate. Alas ! who will protect poor Ireland from Scotch *credulity* ?

English depravity ; Scotch simplicity ; Scotch credulity ; this Coercion Bill and Mr. Commissioner Hill, all to reconcile Ireland to the Union : and all

this under the "most sapient of Ministers, who have done nothing, and are disposed to do nothing, to alleviate the distresses or lessen the burdens of the people of England.

In conclusion I appeal to you, sir, and to every other honest Radical in Great Britain, from the false and calumnious charges of Hill and Pease, and of all their militators and supporters. Look to the acts of the Irish popular members. Look to our votes, have we not maintained the principles of genuine Radicalism in every act and vote of ours against every tax—in favour of every reduction of expense—for every extension of human liberty against every infliction of cruelty or tyranny ? These are our claims ; these are my claims on this point, men of Great Britain, for sympathy and support ; and whilst we have such acts and votes upon record, I care little for the atrocious calumnies and silly excuses of pretended friends to the people, but unaffected friends of themselves.

I have the honour to be

Your obedient servant,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

TO
THE COBBETTITES :

On the Subjugation of Turkey by Russia.

Barn-Elm Farm, 28. October, 1829.

MY FRIENDS,

It is now about five years since "the Greek cause" began to be a subject of empty speeches with the fools, and a source of swindling with the bond-knaves, of this country ; and from that very day I began to warn the Government *against* *favouring that cause* ; seeing, that if that cause flourished, if that cause succeeded, the *Russian power* would be *brought into the Mediterranean* ; and that, therefore, it was the duty of the English Government to uphold the unbroken power of the Turks. And what did the Government do ? precisely the reverse of this. The fools and knaves supplied the Greeks *with money*, which they and their country have lost ; and the Government, though inactive for a while, soon

began to take a part most mischievous to England. This very Duke of Wellington was (by the silly Canning) sent to Russia to have a *talk* about GREECE, Next, this same CANNING made a *treaty* with Russia and France in July, 1826, which they call the *Treaty of London*; and by which treaty the three powers entered into that compact, which led to the *battle of Navarino*.

By this battle we assisted Russia and France to *cripple the Turkish power*. This was, as will presently appear, directly contrary to our interest; but we did it because we could not go to war. Russia and France were resolved (for the reasons to be stated by-and-by) to sever Greece from the rest of Turkey; and we consented to aid them in this, in the hope that they would STOP THERE, and not proceed to make general war upon Turkey. We knew their *wishes*; we knew that they had a design to break up the Turkish power; in order to open a way to India, but more especially in order to bring the naval power of Russia into the Mediterranean, as a check to that of England. Our Government knew all this very well: they hated the "Greek cause," cursed the Greek cause, and wished the Turks to crush it completely; but, not able to go to war, they dissembled, and consented (by very nearly force) to assist Russia and France in crippling our old friend, and ally, the Turk; thinking, that, for some years, at least, this would pacify the Russians and the French; and that, by the end of those years, we should be able to go to war and defend the Turk.

Russia and France knew our situation; they had not been looking at our paper-money, poor-rates, distresses, and panics for nothing. Besides, my friends, the statesmen of those countries had read all that you had read; and they had not, like our pretty fellows, read it for the purpose of finding out some shuffle whereby to make the world believe it to be false and foolish. They had read the *Register* attentively; they had seen its predictions verified; they saw in it the facts and reasoning, which convinced them, as the same facts and arguments

had convinced you, that this country could never go to war again as long as the debt existed; that is to say, until a species of revolution should take place; and this they well knew that the Government would not run the risk of, be the disgrace or the national loss what it might.

These two powers knew all well; and, therefore, they did NOT STOP with the *Battle of Navarino*: they did not stop with the liberation of the Greeks: the "Greek cause," was now clearly a mere pretence with them; for the battle was hardly over, the shoutings in London for the "glorious achievement" were hardly succeeded by silence, when Russia, who had already prepared her armies for the purpose, declared war against Turkey, not on account of the "Greek cause"; not as a joint affair with England and France; but on her own account; on her own private account; and on pretences so false, so manifestly groundless, that those of the wolf, in the fable, in his war against the lamb, were no longer fabulous.

The part which our Government now acted was quite worthy of the rest of its conduct for years past. Its advocates of the press pretended that this war was a matter with which we had nothing to do; that Russia had a right to go to war, if she pleased; that we were not bound by any treaty to defend Turkey from invasion or even from conquest. These papers, however, let out the secret wishes of our poor puny Government; they rejoiced always when the Russians met with a defeat, or a check; they cried up the valour and obstinacy of the Turks; and, when the Russians retreated at the end of the first campaign, I was afraid that these scribes of our Government would go mad with exultation! "There!" said they, "see how wise it was in our Majesty's Ministers to let the thing alone!" "They know better than to plunge us into a war for nothing! They know that the Turks would do the thing themselves."

Such was their language until a few months ago. And now what do they say? Why, that the Turks were a

people destined to fall; but that the terms, granted by the Russians, are, really, not so very hard; and that, at any rate, the insult will *not be injurious to England!* This last is the *main thing*; and it shall now be my business to show you, in as plain a manner as I can, that there never was an event in the world, since this country has been called England, *so injurious and so disgraceful to her*; an event that so clearly marked her want of power; an event that so unequivocally proclaimed to the world her fallen and degraded state.

There are certain facts which you all know, namely, that Turkey contains about twenty-five millions of inhabitants; that its dominions are partly in Europe and partly in Asia, with a small addition in Africa; that these dominions lie for the far greater part at the *eastern end* of the Mediterranean sea; that the capital of this empire is Constantinople; that Europe is here divided from Asia by a very NARROW CHANNEL, called *the channel of Constantinople*; that there is, about a hundred miles to the west of that, another narrow pass, called *the Dardanelles*; and that both of these (bounded by Turkish land on each side) have, for many centuries, been kept, as it were, *locked* by the Turks, against all ships except such as they chose to suffer to pass along them; these passes being completely guarded by forts, batteries, castles, and other means of destruction to those who might attempt to pass without leave.

Beyond Constantinople, but nearly close to it comes in a SEA, called the BLACK SEA, which, in extent of surface, is much about equal to *that of the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, both put together*; but, into this sea, from the Mediterranean, there is no passage *except that of the narrow channels of Constantinople, and that of the Dardanelles.* Now, mark. The territories round the Black Sea have, in great part, long been under the power of Russia. They are fertile in all the most valuable products of the earth, lying, as they do, between 45 and 40 degrees of north latitude; and, of course, on an average, in the latitude of the

south of France; and they abound in the growth of all the materials for building and fitting out ships. There are the timber, the hemp, the iron, the pitch, and, indeed, every thing in super-abundance.

The Russian power has long been increasing *on the land.* She has, too, long had a great fleet of men-of-war, which she has always shown a strong desire to employ for the purpose of checking the power of England. But, shut up in the *Baltic* so many months in the year by the ice; not daring to come out, and stay out for any length of time, we have always been able to laugh at the envy and malice, visible in the several *conventions* and *confederacies* and *armed neutralities*, which she has, at various times, set on foot against us, and of which she has always been the animating soul. We always knew her *wishes*; we always knew what she was aiming at; we always knew that she wished to destroy our *maritime dominion*; we knew also that the French, and other maritime powers, but particularly the French, wished to act with her in the enterprise; but, completely held in check by the frosts in the north, and by our friend, *the Turk*, in the south, we always laughed at the naval menaces and demonstrations of Russia. But shall we laugh NOW?

To answer this question we must look well at the "*treaty*," as it is called, but, "*capitulation*," as it ought to be called; for here are the *Dardanelles* and the *Channel of Constantinople unlocked to Russia*; and here is the sure and certain beginning of the demolition of the naval dominion of England, unless maintained by war, and war, too, to be begun very soon, and crowned with success at any sacrifice. In the last *R-gister* I inserted whole of the "*treaty*." I shall insert the SEVENTH article again; and if you read it with attention, you will find that it puts Russia into real command of the whole of the Turkish empire by land as well as by sea; that it is *conquest* under the name of immunities to be enjoyed; that the *real sovereignty* is in the hands of Russia; and that the *SULTAN* (as the Turkish sovereign is called) is

no more than a *degraded Viceroy* of Russia; and not even that with regard to the most important functions of sovereignty.

" ART. 7. Russian subjects shall enjoy throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman Empire, as well by land as by sea, the full and entire liberty of commerce secured to them by the former Treaties concluded between the two High Contracting Powers. No infringement of that liberty of commerce shall be committed; neither shall it be permitted to be checked in any case, nor under any pretence, by a prohibition or any restriction whatever; nor in consequence of any regulation or measure, whether it be one of internal administration, or one of internal legislation. Russian subjects, vessels, and merchandise, shall be secure against all violence and all chicanery. The former shall *live under the exclusive jurisdiction and police of the Ministers and the Consuls of Russia*. The Russian vessels shall not be subjected to any visit on board whatever on the part of the Ottoman authorities, neither out at sea nor in any of the ports or roadsteads belonging to the dominions of the Sublime Porte; and all merchandise and commodities belonging to a Russian subject, after having paid the custom-house duties required by the tariffs, shall be freely conveyed, deposited on land, in the warehouses of the proprietor, or of his consignee, or else transferred to the vessels of any other nation whatever, without the Russian subjects being required to give notice to the local authorities, and still less to ask their permission. It is expressly agreed upon, that all grain proceeding from Russia shall enjoy the same privileges, and that its free transit shall never experience, under any pretence, any difficulty or impediment. The Sublime Porte engages, besides, to watch carefully that the commerce and navigation of the Black Sea shall not experience the slightest obstruction of any nature whatever. For this purpose the Sublime Porte recognises and declares the passage of the Canal of Constantinople, and the

" *Strait of the Dardanelles*, entirely free and open to Russian ships under merchant flags, laden or in ballast, whether they come from the Black Sea to go into the Mediterranean, or whether, returning from the Mediterranean they wish to re-enter the Black Sea. These vessels, provided they be merchantmen, of whatever size or tonnage they may be, shall not be exposed to any impediment or vexation whatever, as it has been stipulated above. The two Courts shall come to an understanding with respect to the best means for preventing all delay in the delivery of the necessary clearances. In virtue of the same principle, the passage of the Canal of Constantinople, and of the Strait of the Dardanelles, is declared free and open for all the merchant vessels of the Powers at peace with the Sublime Porte, whether bound to the Russian ports of the Black Sea, or returning from them, whether laden or in ballast, upon the same conditions as those stipulated for the vessels under the Russian flag. In fine, the Sublime Porte, acknowledging the right of the Imperial Court of Russia to obtain guarantee of this full liberty of commerce and navigation in the Black Sea, solemnly declares that she will never, under any pretence whatever, throw the least obstacle in its way. She promises, above all, never to permit herself in future to stop or detain vessels, laden or in ballast, whether Russian or belonging to nations with which the Ottoman empire shall not be in a state of declared war, passing through the Strait of Constantinople and the Strait of the Dardanelles, to repair from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, or from the Mediterranean to the Russian ports of the Black Sea. And if, which God forbid! any of the stipulations contained in the present article should be infringed, and the reclamation of the Russian Minister on that subject should not obtain a full and prompt satisfaction, the Sublime Porte recognises, beforehand, the right in the Imperial Court of Russia to consider such an infraction an act of hostility, and imme-

"diately to retaliate on the Ottoman empire."

It is impossible to read this article without perceiving, that here is a complete surrender of the power of Turkey, of the rights of sovereignty in that empire; a complete subjugation, all but the mere *name*; and the *name* would have been, just at present, inconvenient to Russia. The Whigs, who appear to have a very strong desire to get from the Duke of Wellington some small part of the public money, are everywhere endeavouring to cause it to be believed that this is not so very disgraceful an affair, after all; that the Turks have not been so very harshly dealt with by Russia; and that as to *England*, she has nothing to do with the matter at any rate; that the injury and disgrace, if there be any, is *none of hers!* This is what the Whigs are at, all over the country; and Lord Grosvenor, who, by-the-by, was one of the most desperate supporters of Pitt, until the hour of that bawling fellow's death; this Lord Grosvenor is now the leader of the Whig club in Cheshire; at a meeting of which he said the other day, that things were going on extremely well; that our prospects were very fair; and that, for his part, he saw no reason to be alarmed at the aggrandisement of Russia! In the same vineyard are labouring the miserable *Morning Chronicle*, the *Scotsman*, and every thing belonging to the Whig crew. The Irish Catholic papers sing the same tune, as far as I have perceived. In short, all those who wish to support the present Ministry, are endeavouring to maintain these two propositions:

1. That the Treaty between Russia and Turkey contains *nothing very humiliating* to Turkey.
2. That, at any rate, the Treaty, if acted upon, can produce no harm to England.

As to the first of these, Russia secures a concurrent jurisdiction and allegiance throughout a large part of the Turkish empire; she secures the jurisdiction over the waters, as well as over the land, in Europe and in Asia, as far as relates to all matters of commerce. By that part of the Treaty, which stipulates

for the payment of sums of money by Turkey to Russia, she secures a right to the military occupation of Turkey in Europe for at least ten years to come; she secures, in short, the real sovereignty in the Turkish empire by land and by sea, under various appellations and pretences. It is impossible, however, adequately to describe the fallen and subjugated state of Turkey, without resorting to a mode of illustration which shall bring the matter home *to ourselves*; which shall make the case our own; and, if we go on at this rate, *God Almighty* only knows how soon the case may be our own.

Let us suppose, then, a war between England and France: let us suppose the French, after landing in Scotland, and overrunning that country, marching on towards London, overrunning Northumberland, Durham and Cumberland, and penetrating as far as Derby; let us suppose the English negotiators to set off to Derby, and there to agree, if the French will not march on to London, that the King of England will bind himself to the following conditions:

1. That Scotland and the three northern counties of England shall be exempted from the fiscal power of the English Government; that they shall owe a joint allegiance to the French King and to the King of England; that the English Government shall pass no laws affecting Scotland and those counties, without the consent of the French Government; and that the King of England acknowledges the right of France to do whatever may be necessary to protect the people of these counties against the power of the King of England.
2. That as to the waters surrounding this island, including the Straits of Dover, St. George's Channel, the passage north-about between Ireland and Scotland, and even the narrow Straits, called the Needles, between the Hampshire main and the Isle of Wight; that, as to all these, the King of England shall no longer have a right of dominion of any description; that he shall have

no right of search, even in case he shall be at war; that he shall not bring any neutral vessel to; that he shall not stop her to search for enemy's goods, or even for things contraband of war; that, supposing him to be at war with Holland, for instance, he shall not have the power to prevent France, Russia, America, or any other power from going to and from Holland with their ships, carrying the goods of the Dutch, carrying powder and ball to them, and muskets, and cannons, and shall not prevent them from carrying even *troops* to assist the Dutch; that, finally, if the King of England make any attempt to violate this bargain, he *acknowledges beforehand* that the King of France has a right to make war upon him for such attempt.

3. As if this were not enough; as if all this were not sufficient to convince the world of the vassal state of England, suppose the King of England to agree that Frenchmen shall bring in French goods into any of our ports at their pleasure, paying only duties according to the present tariffs; that they shall remove them about on land or water throughout the whole kingdom at their pleasure; that they shall be subject to no excise, shall require no permits, shall be under no control of any office or authority whatsoever, that they shall sell them here if they please to foreign nations, and re-ship them in ships of other nations from our ports; that, for instance, a Frenchman shall bring in a cargo of wine, in a French or other foreign ship; that he shall land it at his pleasure; that having paid the duty according to the present tariff, he shall move it at his pleasure to any part of the kingdom without any further permission, and without any inspection or control on the part of any body; and that, if he please, he shall send it out of the country again without paying any duty at all, and in any foreign ship that he may please.

4. Still, however, this is not the worst;

for the King of England agrees that Frenchmen shall come into England in any number; that they shall come here as matter of right; that they shall carry on any commerce or business that they please in England; that they shall quit one business, and go to another when they like; that they shall have all the privileges and rights of Englishmen; and (which surpasses any thing ever heard of in the world before) they shall be exempted from the effects of all the criminal laws in England! That no constable, no policeman, not even Mr. Peel's famous police-men; no sheriff, no justice of the peace, no judge, no jury, no jailer, no hangman, shall dare to touch a hair of the head of a Frenchman, let the Monsieur do what he may! That Frenchmen in England shall be totally exempt from the English laws and authorities; that no internal regulation or legislation shall affect them; that they shall be subject to nothing in the way of control, but the regulations and police established by the French ambassador and consuls, that if a Frenchman knock an Englishman down or rob him; if he commit a murder upon an Englishman, nay, if he conspire against or kill the King, the English law shall take no cognizance of his conduct.

Let me now put it to you, who are real Englishmen; let me ask you whether you would affect to regard England as any thing but a conquered country, if the King of England were to submit to terms like these? Besides bargaining to pay a tribute, which it is known never can be paid; and leaving all the strong holds of the country in the hands of the King of France, as a guarantee for the payment of the tribute. And yet these base Whigs, these desperate and greedy hunters after place, power, and emolument, and who hope to get them by currying favour with the Duke of Wellington; this wretched and worthless faction are trying to persuade the country, that Russia has been *moderate* in her terms,

and that the Turks have really not much to complain of!

With regard to the second proposition, namely, *that at any rate the Treaty, if acted upon, can produce no harm to England*, I have observed at the beginning of this letter, that this Treaty brings Russia into the Mediterranean from the Black Sea. This is the greatest change that has taken place in the affairs of Europe for more than a hundred years. It creates a new great naval power, and opens all the seas to that power. We had a monopoly of the trade of Turkey. We are to have that no longer. France had no maritime ally in Europe: now she will have one great and powerful, and of endless resources. Russia will be the great naval power at one end of the Mediterranean, where the Greeks will be a colony of Russia instead of a colony of Turkey. It is not folly, but downright base hypocrisy to affect to believe that we shall be able to keep the Seven Islands and Malta, or either of them, for any length of time; and where is the man stupid enough to believe that we shall be able to keep Gibraltar for ten years? "Ten years!" exclaims the Scotch *feelosofer*, "why, *tan* years is a *leetel* eternity, *mon*!" Very true, for our policy for many years past, has been a sort of weekly or monthly policy.

The French and Russians have had a common interest in this war against Turkey. The French wanted us out of the Mediterranean; she wanted Russia to be closer upon the flank of Austria; she wanted a great Russian fleet in the Mediterranean; she wanted her way open to Egypt; and now she has got it all. Not only shall we never dare show our faces in the Mediterranean again; not only shall we be totally ejected from that sea, and from the trade of Turkey and Italy; but there will be an enormous maritime power, always ready to come out into the Atlantic to join the Americans; and in a very short time, speaking of the affairs of nations, England, unless she instantly buckle on her armour, will be broken down as a maritime power; and as she has no other power, and never can have, she will be

stripped bit by bit of all her foreign possessions; and will finally realize the prophecy of the Abbé Raynal, who predicted that her false and showy wealth would at last make her the scorn, instead of being the envy, of the world.

And, my friends, what has been the cause of all this? Every one knows that a fleet of thirty ships of the line, with suitable smaller companions, would have prevented the Russians from ever setting a hostile foot on Turkish ground. A squadron of only three ships would have desolated the whole of the coast of the Black Sea. A Russian ship would not have been afloat upon the ocean; the Russian ports in the Baltic would have been demolished. And, *why not do this?* Why not put a stop to the growth of this giant? Because we have not yet paid for the "*victories*" which we purchased so dearly some years ago, and about which we made such a boasting and bragging.

Of all the mean things that have disgraced the nations of this world, the meanest was our attempt to get the French on our side, in an endeavour to persuade the Russians to stop: but mean as it was, it was more foolish than it was mean. France has a direct and clear interest in the success of Russia; and the truth is, *that it was fear of France*, that very France that we "*twice conquered*" so short a time ago; that very France whose museums were stripped; it was fear of that very France that made us stand still while the Russian conqueror was proceeding. We had no ability to go to war, even with Russia alone; but, a mere demonstration would have been enough for Russia; with France, however, looking us hard in the face, we dared not stir hand or foot. We had no means of setting Austria on upon France: we had no money to give to her to enable her to march upon the Rhine and into Alsace. To have gone to war with Russia and France, would have demanded fifty millions a year of additional taxes, or, rather, would have blown up this whole system from its very foundations. We had laid out all our money in the purchasing of Waterloo, and other victories:

the French stood ready for us : they did not want war if it could be done without : it was done without : the Russians came into the Mediterranean ! Turkey fell ; and the newspapers, from one end to the other of the continent of Europe, plainly, openly, and in so many words, exult in this great achievement over what they call "*the tyrant of the seas.*"

How it must amuse the laughing part of the politicians of Europe : how it must delight the surviving friends of Marshal Ney : how must it fill with ecstasy those who cursed the pillagers of the museums ; how it must convulse with laughter those Frenchmen who have heard of Waterloo-bridge, of the great Achilles, and of the triumphal arches of Hyde-park Corner : though these latter have not (from pure modesty in the papers) yet received the *baptismal ceremony* : how it must delight all these people to look at the miserable shifts to which we are driven in order to disguise our shame. Amongst these shifts I will cite one from the *Old Times* newspaper, which exhibits, I think, the most complete instance of folly, of childishness, of miserable, miserable weakness, that the eyes of man ever beheld, or that ever met a human ear. I beg you to read it with great attention ; for that will save me the trouble of a long commentary upon it.

" In this affair of Turkey, neither England nor Europe has been fairly dealt by. A large portion of the *French press*, and, as its exertions proceeded, a great body of the nation under its influence, ran wild upon the Turkish question. First, the independence of Greece, which was a separate and smaller question, was put forward, as that to which alone the minds of Frenchmen ought to be directed. Had a vigorous and long-sighted part been taken by *England and France* together, it would perhaps have been this :—' We (the Allies) will force Turkey to acquiesce in the independence of Greece : but on the other hand, we will compel the Emperor Nicholas to respect the integrity and independence of Turkey.' This, we say, ought to have been done, if it had

" been practicable. But was it practicable ? Perhaps not : perhaps the *French press* and the French public would not support the Government of King Charles in fulfilling its duty to Europe. Instead of following the direct path of French policy, and taking steps to restrain any dangerous movement by Russia, certain papers, such as the *Constitutionnel* and the *Journal des Débats*, got up again the old *Bonapartean hostility to England*, and actually turned the popular feeling of the French upon a *false scent*, deterring them from all opposition to the views of Russia, because in resisting her, they would have to co-operate with this country ! This was the extreme of folly in the public, who were duped ; it was the extreme of baseness in the press and its auxiliaries, who duped them. And why was this anti-national course adopted by papers which called themselves liberal ? There is a Corsican in Paris, who once received a pension from the British Government, and who, ever since the year 1815, has held the post of *Russian Minister at the French Court*. This gentleman is reputed to be the most dexterous intriguer in Europe. The invasion of Spain, in 1822, is said to have been chiefly his work. A large portion of the press of France is his instrument. The *Constitutionnel* is believed to be under his absolute control ; and we are sorry to say, that there is nothing in the later history of another popular journal to repel the imputation of its being secretly influenced by Pozzo. The game, then, of this diplomatist, is clear : viz. to divert from Russia against Great Britain the whole power of that French feeling, which, if governed by common sense, would have united with the Duke of Wellington for a great European object ; and to interpose the phantoms of English maritime tyranny, the obsolete topics of Bonaparte's tirades against this country, between the gigantic schemes of Russia and the mystified imagination of the French people. This plan was followed up by perpetual attacks

" upon Prince Polignac and his administration, on the despicable pretext of his being helped into office by the Duke of Wellington ; but for no real reason whatever, except that the Prince was known by Pozzo di Borgo to see, like most enlightened men, *some danger in the Russian policy*. Such has been, as is shrewdly hinted, the state of things behind the scenes ; the stage-manager of the Parisian drama, has been Pozzo ; the *briber of the French press*, has been Pozzo ; the conscious calumniator of England, is the same Pozzo, once the pensioner of England. He is, however, an efficient servant of his present master. But we repeat most distinctly, that while the *French mind was so diseased upon this great question* of permanent interest to Europe, no English Minister could have *discreetly ventured to break ground in the East.*"

This surpasses all that I ever read, even in this very stupid paper. The substance of it is this, that Pozzo di Borgo has a complete control over the French press ; that the French press has a complete control over the French mind ; that the French mind has a complete control over the French King ; that the Duke of Wellington could not stop the Russians without the consent of the French King ; and that, as Pozzo di Borgo was the agent of the Emperor of Russia, he made the French press work upon the French mind, to prevent the French King from giving his consent to the Duke of Wellington to stop the Russians ? Thus it is only by means of the few golden louis, that Pozzo di Borgo was able to give to the French press, that England was compelled to stand still and see a giant navy enter the Mediterranean to join the French and Americans in any future war, and to eject England for ever from the Mediterranean Sea, unless she put on her armour and begin to fight immediately, before this baby giant attain his manhood.

But this childish creature ; this worse than poor, miserable chit-chat, tea-table politician ; this creature does not perceive, then, that the whole of the French nation were heart and soul with Russia,

that they had a deep interest in the success of Russia ; that it was the great blow of France as much as for Russia herself ; and that the success of Russia has now raised France many degrees in the scale of power, as compared with England. This poor, childish creature does not perceive this ; it can see nothing for its part, but the influence of the French press. The creature knows how its paragraphs twist the stock-jobbers about ; and it thinks that the whole of a great and powerful nation, is to be twisted about by similar means. It knows that it can make its readers believe a great many things which Idiots would reject ; and it naturally thinks that the French nation is to be duped in the same way. But, if Pozzo di Borgo could bribe the French press, is *bribery wholly unknown on this side of the water* ? For many years the French talked of nothing but the gold of Pitt ; and surely we could have spared a little when "*money is so plentiful in the city !*"

However, this is childishness : too childish to occupy a moment of our time : the French nation exults, and well it may, at the success of Russia, which is, indeed, its own success ; and this success it owes to our debt and dead-weight, contracted for the purpose of destroying the germs of freedom in France, lest that freedom should shame the English people into exertions for recovering their rights, and effecting a reform in the Commons House of Parliament. Here is the true and only cause of all the effects, present and future, described in the former part of this letter ; and to this I shall only add that these effects would, as you well know, all have been avoided, if the Government and Parliament had not despised the advice and the repeated warnings of

Your faithful friend
and most obedient servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

" HEDDEKASHUN."

SIR,—A reply to Mr. Morrison's letter on this subject involves one in two awkward difficulties ; at the outset one

has to encounter the authority of a great name, and a fallacy not easily obviated, though in common use in argument, and equivalent to giving a dog a bad name as an excuse for hanging him.

You declare that Mr. Morrison's letter is “complete.” With deference I differ from you, if by complete is meant a full view of the question, with every deducible fact and argument brought to bear upon it, and leading to the irrefragable conclusion that education is bad. The instances brought forward, however, relate to a part only of the question, material certainly, but being partial it seems illogical to deduce the general consequence of unsoundness as completely demonstrated, not only of the mode of teaching but also of the thing taught.

The quotations taken from certain compilations used in the Scotch system of education, no doubt, prove a hellish intention of enslaving the mind at a tender age, the more easily to bend the man to the designs of the craft of priests or of statesmen. Taking this for granted, and as there is no denying it, I indeed admit to the fullest extent, though it may be, and I think is, proof of moral worthlessness in the writer, and moreover of a dangerous defect in the selection of books; that is, of books inculcating insidiously the worst things, not indeed vice under the garb of virtue, but quite as bad, principles inimical to freedom under colour of moral precepts; yet I contend that this amounts to no more than proof of defect, and that in a part only of the Scotch system of education.

Allow me to think it is a duty to express my detestation of the writers of such books as are written for children with no other view than instilling into their minds, if they are poor, that the only chance of conciliating, and thereby obtaining assistance from the rich, is by the meanest kind of submission a human being (whether right or wrong is not said) can be guilty of, namely, that which is made to the rich because they are rich. At the same time I take leave to express my abhorrence of all writings inculcating ideas of the Deity

at variance with the chief and highest attributes of his nature, and totally and alike destructive of the best of qualities, loving-kindness, goodness, and mercy, in creator and in creature.

That he may be rich and powerful, the statesman insinuates when he cannot dictate slavish submission to the working many, and priestcraft joins in the delusion, that it may be clothed in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day. In the words church and state, we have a lively idea presented to us of these two crafts, of their union and its objects, the worst pests with which God for their sins has visited mankind; I presume it is a just work to drive them from off the face of the earth, and that there is no more effectual means than by exposure; if so, and education is to be excluded, I see but this alternative, that as hitherto the people have been, so they must continue to be, the victims of these pestilences.

Whenever books of the kind of demoralizing tendency spoken of, are to be met with in schools, there is evidence of a vicious defect in the system of education pursued; nay, I will go farther; if education consisted of nothing else than the information conveyed by such means, then I would justly and truly say, education was so radically bad, we could not be too soon rid of a thing so mischievously wicked as that which must render man as debased as depraved.

I acknowledge that the present is a much-mistaken system of education. But instead of saying on this account that education is bad, I conclude means should be taken to make it useful to the extent I am convinced, under an improved system, it is capable of being made, by rendering men rational in their thoughts, words, and actions, and knowing in, and observant of, their duties to themselves and their neighbours. Besides it is defective, inasmuch as body-work is not taught with mind-work. My meaning is, that whilst a child is learning the means to acquire food for the mind, which is knowledge, his hands should be taught some trade to provide him a living. An improved system of

education, of training both mind and body simultaneously, would easily admit of this being done ; and when done, that it may not then be faulty I do not say. Be that as it may, the faultiness I apprehend would not be proof of the badness of education, but if of anything of the imperfect means of conveying it.

I will give a personal instance of the kind of double training I speak of. I have not been brought up in the lap of luxury, nor yet in the other extreme. When a child, and learning my little lessons, if well, I was praised, or allowed some trifling indulgence; if otherwise, discomfited; but before I was allowed to have my luncheon of bread and cheese, I was taught by my father to do something for it, as weeding or digging in the garden, or clearing away rubbish or stones, the little plot allotted to me was not to be touched, or the gardener suffered to help me, till I had done something useful. The habit of hand-working has insensibly grown up with me from my childhood, and though my trade (the law) has been headwork, if to-morrow, a necessity existed for it, I believe I could earn my living as a farm labourer, or should that fail, I think I should have a resource in the joiner's trade, in learning which for amusement, I have spent some of the happiest hours of my life. In the woods, I can handle an axe, and knowing something of the planting and rearing of trees, I might perhaps be able to get occupation in that line, and for which I would have to thank you for your admirable treatise on "Woodlands."

I am fully aware of the egotism in self-allusion, but I mention these things to show the possibility and utility of joining the training of mind and body together. If I am asked for authority, one may be given, which no just and sensible Englishman can treat with irreverence, without lowering himself, I give that of John Milton, who planned a system of education on the principle of training mind and body as the proper way of bringing up youth.

Mr. Morrison says, "The torture of mind and body to which the child is

" subjected during the heddekkashun process, is extreme."

I believe restraint is inseparable from all kinds of training ; that it is irksome to all children, and a torture to most, especially the lively tempered ones. Whatever we learn, be it reading or digging, necessarily imposes restraint, and in that sense to a certain degree torture. Few children I have seen would learn without restraint; necessity therefore compels recourse to it, if either art is to be taught. Whatever then is learned by causing restraint, implies, as I said, a certain degree of torture.

If, however, by torture; your correspondent means bodily punishment, I hope he is mistaken in referring to the present, what was the rule when he or myself was at school, where, after the wisdom, not of a Solomon, he was taught to spoil the child who spared the rod. That there are brutes of schoolmasters I do not deny, but the humanizing spirit which is abroad, has made them few in number, and rare exceptions.

Since the time I speak of great changes have been made in the nature of punishment; bodily punishment is nearly exploded, especially in schools for the people. Were it otherwise, it is unreasonable to conclude that education must be bad, because the system of correction is bad.

A word as to the fallacy. Everybody knows ridicule is no test of truth, of thin-skinnedness it is, but not of want of information, and as little of having the worst of an argument. Bad jokes, nicknames of persons or things, do but inflame the minds of disputants against each other, and when they are used, there is an end of fair discussion. The wit or argument of spelling education in a ridiculous way, I am at a loss to see, and except in creating prejudice, it can answer no end, which has truth in view, and as that is my object, I have taken leave to spell it, not as it has been metamorphosed, but after the old and orthodox fashion, e-d-u-c-a-t-i-o-n.

Though I have endeavoured to show

that your correspondent's argument is not so complete as you say it is, I trust it has been done with fairness and temper. Enough, I think has been said, to raise a presumption at least, that however defective the system of training may be, that the things taught, that which goes by the name of education is not the bad thing you deem it to be, nor yet bad for the labouring classes, unless it is bad for the rich also, whilst, as I think, it is good for all.

The term "*Cobbettite*" as a reproach conveying the extreme of opprobrium, has more or less been cast upon me. It is doing me too much honour, for I never enrolled myself in the category of politicians calling themselves your disciples. I possess many volumes of your *Register*, and nearly all your miscellaneous works; and it is true, I have derived much instruction and great pleasure from your writings; obligations I am always glad of an opportunity of acknowledging. Yet I cannot call myself a disciple, although in some things holding your opinions, for in others I totally dissent from your views, and in none, more than on the subject of education, of which, in regard to moral and political instruction, I am, it may be but an inefficient, a sincere advocate.

With sincerity and pleasure I subscribe myself,

Sir,
Your obedient servant,
G. WHEATLEY.

25. December, 1833.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

SEEDS.

ITALIAN CLOVER.

I HAVE received an account from Mr. HAYLEY, of LIVERPOOL, enabling me to state the price of the Italian clover seed; and I have come to this determination with regard to the price, which will be as follows:—

For a single pound	1s. 6d.
For ten pounds	12s. 6d.
For twenty pounds	22s. 6d.
For thirty pounds or upwards, 1s. per pound.	

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound; above 100lbs. 6d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs. 6d. a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

There will be two sizes of bags, one for a *large* garden and one for a *small* one; the latter will contain half the quantity of the former. The price of the former, 25s.; the price of the latter, 12s. 6d.; always *ready money*. It is impossible for any man to raise such an assortment of *true* seeds in any *one garden*; and, if he could do it, the doing of it would cost him *six times the sum* that I sell these seeds at.

Any person who purchases *ten bags*, will pay the price of *eight*, and, if twenty bags, will pay the price of *fifteen*; and if 100, pay for 60. The bags will be so strongly done up that they can be sent with safety to any part of the kingdom or of the world, and each bag will have on it, or in it, *a card*, with these words, in *fac-simile* of my hand-writing: "GARDEN SEEDS, RAISED, in 1833, BY WM COBBETT, M. P. FOR OLDHAM." And my constituents will remember, that *La charrue, l'épee et la plume ne dérogent pas.*

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in corning that I ever saw in my life; and

I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan,
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Cale—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.

46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

I SHALL remark on the whole of this Message next week.

(From the New York Gazette.)

New York, Dec. 4.

[The express arrived at Jersey one minute after four o'clock this morning, and reached our office at half-past four. The accompanying letter does not mention the proceedings previous to the delivery of the Message, nor does it mention who was elected Speaker. There is no doubt, however, that Stevenson has been re-elected.]

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives.

On your assembling to perform the high trust which the people of the United States have confided to you, of legislating for their common welfare, it gives me pleasure to congratulate you upon the happy condition of our beloved country. By the favour of Divine Providence, health is again restored to us—peace reigns within our borders—abundance crowns the labours of our fields—commerce and domestic industry flourish and increase—and individual happiness rewards the private virtue and enterprise of our citizens.

Our condition abroad is no less honourable than it is prosperous at home. Seeking nothing that is not right, and determined to submit to nothing that is wrong, but desiring honest friendships and liberal intercourse with all nations,

the United States have gained throughout the world the confidence and respect which are due to the character of the American people, and to a policy so just and so congenial to the spirit of their institutions.

In bringing to your notice the particular state of our foreign affairs, it affords me high gratification to inform you that they are in a condition which promises the continuance of friendship with all nations.

With Great Britain the interesting question of our north-eastern boundary remains still undecided. A negotiation, however, upon that subject has been renewed since the close of the last Congress, and a proposition has been submitted to the British Government with the view of establishing, in conformity with the resolution of the Senate, the line designated by the treaty of 1783. Though no definitive answer has been received, it may be daily looked for, and I entertain a hope that the overture may ultimately lead to a satisfactory adjustment of this important matter.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that a negotiation which, by desire of the House of Representatives, was opened some years ago with the British Government for the erection of lighthouses on the Bahamas, has been successful. These works, when completed, together with some which the United States have constructed on the western side of the Gulf of Florida, will contribute essentially to the safety of the navigation in that sea. This joint participation in establishments interesting to humanity, and beneficial to commerce, is worthy of two enlightened nations, and indicates feelings which cannot fail to have a happy influence upon their political relations. It is gratifying to the friends of both to perceive that the intercourse between the two people is becoming daily more extensive, and that sentiments of mutual good have grown up befitting their common origin, justifying the hope that, by wise counsels on each side, not only unsettled questions may be satisfactorily terminated, but new causes of misunderstanding prevented.

Notwithstanding that I continue to receive the most amicable assurances from the Government of France, and that in all other respects the most friendly relations exist between the United States and that Government, it is to be regretted that the stipulations of the convention concluded on 4. July, 1831, remain in some important parts unfulfilled.

By the second article of that convention, it was stipulated that the sum payable to the United States should be paid at Paris, in six annual instalments, into the hands of such person or persons as should be authorised by the Government of the United States to receive it; and by the same article the first instalment was payable on the 2. day of February, 1833. By the act of Congress of the 13. of July, 1832, it was made the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to cause the several instalments, with the interest thereon, to be received from the French Government, and transferred to the United States, in such manner as he may deem best; and by the same act of Congress, the stipulations on the part of the United States in the convention were in all respects fulfilled. Not doubting that a treaty thus made and ratified by the two Governments, and faithfully executed by the United States, would be promptly complied with by the other party, and desiring to avoid the risk and expense of intermediate agencies, the Secretary of the Treasury deemed it advisable to receive and transfer the first instalment by means of a draft upon the French Minister of Finance. A draft for this purpose was accordingly drawn in favour of the cashier of the Bank of the United States, for the amount accruing to the United States out of the first instalment and interest payable with it. This bill was not drawn at Washington until five days after the instalment was payable at Paris, and was accompanied by a special authority from the President, authorising the cashier, or his assigns, to receive the amount. The mode thus adopted of receiving the instalment was officially made known to the French Government by the American

Charge d'Affaires at Paris, pursuant to instructions from the Department of State. The bill, however, though not presented for payment until the 23. day of March, was not paid, and for the reason assigned by the French Minister of Finance—that no appropriation had been made by the French Chambers. It is not known to me that, up to that period, any appropriation had been required of the Chambers; and although a communication was subsequently made to the Chambers, by direction of the King, recommending that the necessary provision should be made for carrying the convention into effect, it was at an advanced period of the session, and the subject was finally postponed until the next meeting of the Chambers.

Notwithstanding it has been supposed by the French Ministry that the financial stipulations of the treaty cannot be carried into effect without an appropriation by the Chambers, it appears to me to be not only consistent with the charter of France, but due to the character of both Governments, as well as to the rights of our citizens, to treat the convention made and ratified in proper form, as pledging the good faith of the French Government for its execution, and as imposing upon each department an obligation to fulfil it; and I have received assurances through our Charge d'Affaires at Paris, and the French Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, and more recently through the Minister of the United States at Paris, that the delay has not proceeded from any indisposition on the part of the King and his Ministers to fulfil the treaty, and that measures will be presented at the next meeting of the Chambers, and with a reasonable hope of success, to obtain the necessary appropriation.

It is necessary to state, however, that the documents, except certain lists of vessels captured, condemned, or burnt at sea, proper to facilitate the examination and liquidation of the reclamations comprised in the stipulations of the convention, and which, by the 6th article, France engaged to communicate to the United States by the intermediary of Legation, though repeatedly ap-

plied for by the American Charge d'Affaires, under instructions from this Government, have not yet been communicated; and this delay, it is apprehended, will necessarily prevent the completion of the duties assigned to the Commissioners within the time at present prescribed by law.

The reasons for delaying to communicate these documents have not been explicitly stated, and this is the more to be regretted, as it is not understood that the interposition of the Chambers is in any manner required for the delivery of those names.

Under these circumstances, in a case so important to the interest of our citizens and to the character of our country, and under disappointments so unexpected, I deemed it my duty, however I might respect the general assurances to which I have adverted, no longer to delay the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to Paris, but to dispatch him in season to communicate the result of his application to the French Government at an early period of your session. I accordingly appointed a distinguished citizen for this purpose, who proceeded on his mission in August last, and was presented to the King early in the month of October. He is particularly instructed as to all matters connected with the present posture of affairs, and I indulge the hope that, with the representations he is instructed to make, and from the dispositions manifested by the King and his Ministers in their recent assurance to our Minister at Paris, the subject will be early considered and satisfactorily disposed of at the meeting of the Chambers.

As this subject involves important interests, and has attracted a considerable share of the public attention, I have deemed it proper to make this explicit statement of its actual condition; and, should I be disappointed in the hope now entertained, the subject will be again brought to the notice of Congress in such manner as the occasion may require.

The friendly relations which have always been maintained between the United States and Russia, have been

further extended and strengthened by the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded on the 6. of December last, and sanctioned by the Senate before the close of the last session. The ratification having been since exchanged, the liberal provisions of the treaty are now in full force; and, under the encouragement which they have received, a flourishing and increasing commerce, yielding its benefits to the enterprise of both nations, affords to each the just recompence of wise measures, and adds new motives for that mutual friendship which the two countries have hitherto cherished towards each other.

It affords me peculiar satisfaction to state that the Government of Spain has at length yielded to the justice of the claims which have been so long urged in behalf of our citizens, and has expressed a willingness to provide an indemnification, as soon as the proper amount can be agreed upon. Upon this latter point it is probable an understanding had taken place between the Minister of the United States and the Spanish Government before the decease of the late King of Spain; and unless that event may have delayed its completion, there is reason to hope that it may be in my power to announce to you early in your present session the conclusion of a convention upon terms not less favourable than those entered into for similar objects with other nations. That act of justice would well accord with the character of Spain, and is due to the United States from their ancient friend. It could not fail to strengthen the sentiments of amity and goodwill between the two nations, which it is so much the wish of the United States to cherish and so truly the interest of both to maintain.

By the first section of an act of Congress passed on the 13. July, 1832, the tonnage duty on Spanish ships arriving from the ports of Spain was limited to the duty payable on American vessels in the ports of Spain previous to the 20. October, 1817, being five cents per ton. The act was intended to give effect, on our side, to an arrangement made with the Spanish Government, by which dis-

criminating duties of tonnage were to be abolished in the ports of the United States and Spain on the vessels of the two nations. Pursuant to that arrangement, which was carried into effect, on the part of Spain, on the 20. of May, 1832, by a royal order, dated the 29. of April, 1832, American vessels in the ports of Spain have paid five cents per ton, which rate of duty is also paid in those ports by Spanish vessels; but as American vessels pay no tonnage duty in the ports of the United States, the duty of five cents payable in our ports by Spanish vessels, under the act above-mentioned, is really a discriminating duty, operating to the disadvantage of Spain. Though no complaint has yet been made on the part of Spain, we are not the less bound by the obligations of good faith to remove the discrimination, and I recommend that the act be amended accordingly. As the royal order above alluded to includes the ports of the Balearic and Canary Islands, as well as those of Spain, it would seem that the provisions of the act of Congress should be equally extensive; and that for the repayment of such duties as may have been improperly received, an addition should be made to the sum appropriated at the last session of Congress for refunding discriminating duties.

As the arrangement referred to, however, did not embrace the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, discriminating duties to the prejudice of American shipping continue to be levied there. From the extent of the commerce carried on between the United States and these islands, particularly the former, this discrimination causes serious injury to one of those great national interests which it has not been considered an essential part of our policy to cherish, and has given rise to complaints on the part of our merchants. Under instructions given to our Minister at Madrid, earnest representations have been made by him to the Spanish Government upon this subject, and there is reason to expect, from the friendly disposition which is entertained towards this country, that a beneficial change will be produced. The disadvantage, however, to which

our shipping is subjected by the operation of these discriminating duties, requires that they be met with suitable countervailing duties during your present session; power being at the same time vested in the President to modify or discontinue them as the discriminating duties on American vessels or their cargoes may be modified or discontinued at those islands. Intimations have been given to the Spanish Government that the United States may be obliged to resort to such measures as are of necessary self-defence; and there is no reason to apprehend that they would be unfavourably received. The proposed proceeding, if adopted, would not be permitted, however, in any degree to induce a relaxation in the efforts of our Minister to effect a repeal of this irregularity by friendly negotiation; and it might serve to give force to his representations, by showing the dangers to which that valuable trade is exposed by the obstructions and burdens which a system of discriminating and countervailing duties necessarily produces.

The selection and preparation of the Florida archives, for the purpose of being delivered over to the United States, in conformity with the royal order, as mentioned in my last annual message, though in progress, has not yet been completed. This delay has been produced, partly by causes which were unavoidable, particularly the prevalence of cholera at the Havaannah; but measures have been taken which it is believed will expedite the delivery of these important records.

Congress was informed, at the opening of the last session, that "owing, "as was alleged, to embarrassments in "the finances of Portugal, consequent upon the civil war in which that nation was engaged," payment had been made of only one instalment of the amount which the Portuguese Government had stipulated to pay for indemnifying our citizens for property illegally captured in the blockade of Terceira. Since that time a postponement for two years, with interest of the two remaining instalments, was requested by the Portuguese Government; and as a con-

sideration it offered to stipulate that rice of the United States should be admitted into Portugal at the same duties as Brazilian rice. Being satisfied that no better arrangement could be made, my consent was given, and a royal order of the King of Portugal was accordingly issued on the 4. of February last for the reduction of the duty on rice of the United States. It would give me great pleasure if, in speaking of that country, in whose prosperity the United States are so much interested, and with whom a long subsisting, extensive, and mutually advantageous commercial intercourse has strengthened the relations of friendship, I could announce to you the restoration of its internal tranquillity.

Subsequently to the commencement of the last session of Congress the final instalment payable by Denmark under the convention of the 28. day of March, 1830, was received. The commissioners for the examining of the claims have since terminated their labours, and their awards have been paid at the Treasury as they have been called for. The justice rendered to our citizens by that Government is thus completed, and a pledge is thereby afforded for the maintenance of that friendly intercourse becoming the relations that the two nations mutually bear to each other.

It is satisfactory to inform you that the Danish Government have recently issued an ordinance by which the commerce with the island of St. Croix is placed on a more liberal footing than heretofore. This change cannot fail to prove beneficial to the trade between the United States and that colony; and the advantages likely to flow from it may lead to greater relaxations in the colonial systems of other nations.

The ratifications of the convention with the King of the Two Sicilies have been duly exchanged, and the commissioners appointed for examining the claims under it have entered upon the duties assigned to them by law. The friendship that the two nations require of them being now established, it may be hoped that each will enjoy the bene-

fits which a liberal commerce should yield to both.

A treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Belgium was concluded during the last winter, and received the sanction of the Senate; but the exchange of the ratifications has been hitherto delayed, in consequence, in the first instance, of some delay in the reception of the treaty at Brussels, and, subsequently, of the absence of the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs at the important conferences in which his Government is engaged at London.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BRADLEY, J. B., Beyton, Suffolk, grocer.
DRINKWATER, S., Liverpool, coal-merchant.
LEECH, J., Fleet-street, tavern-keeper.
LIVESEY, S., Manchester, victualler.
WISEMAN, A., Ulster-place, Regent's-park, and Quadrant, Regent-street, druggist.

TUESDAY, JAN. 3, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

HAMILTON, D., Nicholas-lane, tailor.
HODSOLL, T., Garnault-place, Spa-fields, and Brussels, picture-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BARKER, B., Bridlington, Yorkshire, grocer.
DUNKLEY, W. J., West Haddon, Northamptonshire, cattle-dealer.
ELLIS, S., Fleet-street, victualler.
HALL, W., Plymouth, silversmith.
LINTHORNE, R. R., Poole, victualler.
LEATHER, P., Newton-in-the-Willows and Manchester, fustian-manufacturer.
MASON, J., West Butterwick, Lincolnshire, brick-maker.
MEW, J., Coventry, riband-manufacturer.
NURSEY, P., Melton, Suffolk, architect.
PEARS, L., Manchester, fustian-manufacturer.
SPURR, J. J., Maltby, Yorkshire, paper-maker.
TAYLOR, J., Bradford, Wiltshire, grocer.
WALLDEN, W., Reading, Berkshire, slop-seller.

WRIGHT, J., jun., Cross-lane, St. Mary-at-hill, coal-factor.

WYMER, F., Star-street, Wapping-wall, victualler.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 30.—The arrivals of Wheat and Barley from the home counties, have been liberal since Friday, though the supplies fresh up this morning were moderate. The samples still exhibited the effect of the damp weather, and many handled cold and rough. Fine dry parcels were taken by the millers at the terms of this day se'nnight, but to have made any progress in the sales of secondary and ordinary parcels, lower prices must have been submitted to. A little inquiry existed for bonded Wheat at low prices for export.

Barley came freely to hand, and though selected malting samples maintained their previous rates, yet all secondary, as well as distilling and grinding sorts, hung heavily on hand, and might have been bought the turn cheaper. The distillers having lowered the price of gin, has caused them to become unwilling purchasers, unless at reduced quotations. Malt of good quality sustained no variation in price, but country qualities realized 56s., Hertfordshire 60s.

Oats were in good supply, but the article experienced a slow dragging sale at last Monday's quotations.

Beans, both old and new, were dull and rather cheaper.

White Peas maintained with difficulty their former rates, while Grey and Maple were 1s. lower.

The Flour trade was steady, with a fair demand for ship marks.

Wheat	50s. to 59s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	25s. to 27s.
fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
Boilers	40s. to —s.
Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Small	34s. to 39s.
Tick	30s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to 26s.
Feed	19s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	90s. to 95s.
Mess, new	56s. to 62s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 82s. per cwt.
Carlow	80s. to 84s.
Cork	70s. to 71s.
Limerick	69s. to 71s.
Waterford	70s. to 75s.
Dublin	66s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD, December 30.

This day's supply, which embraced a considerable number of highly fed Beasts, was, of each kind of fat stock, rather limited, but of fair average quality, and, apparently, fully equal to the demand. With each kind of prime meat trade was, however, somewhat brisk; say with prime Beef, Mutton, and Pork, at an advance of 2d. prime Veal at an advance of 4d. per stone, with the middling and inferior kinds of Beef, Mutton, Veal, and Pork, trade was dull at Friday's quotations.

Full four-fifths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, short-horns and Welsh runts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Scots and Irish beasts, about fifty Sussex beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c. About 1,100 of the beasts, chiefly Herefords, Devons, short-horns, and Welsh runts, with a few of the Scots and Irish beasts, were from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and the rest of our northern grazing districts; about 100, chiefly Herefords and Devons, from our western and midland districts; about 300, mostly Scots, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about sixty, chiefly Sussex steers and oxen, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the Town's-end Cows, from the cow-keepers, stall-feeders, &c., in the neighbourhood of London.

About three-fifths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South-down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about three of the former to five of the latter; about a fifth South-downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds. A few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 3.

The arrivals this week are short. The prices full as dear as on Monday.

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